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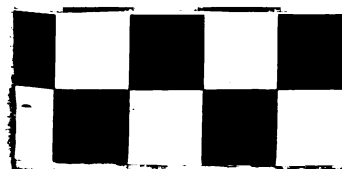
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ATKINSON

**Cost of War and Warfare
1904**

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of

COST OF WAR AND WARFARE.

STATEMENT

BY

EDWARD ATKINSON,

BEING AN APPENDIX TO

SPEECH OF HON. E. W. CARMACK,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

March 2, 1904.

WASHINGTON.
1904.

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Mr. CARMACK. I ask leave to have printed in the RECORD as an appendix to my remarks the statement to which I referred.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none.

The statement referred to is as follows:

APPENDIX.

The cost of war and warfare from 1898 to 1904, seven fiscal years ending June 30, \$1,000,000,000. A continuation of the previous computations made in 1902 and 1903. Statements compiled, computed, and proved from the official reports of the Government, by Edward Atkinson, LL. D., Ph. D., Brookline, Mass., U. S. A., January 26, 1904.

SECOND COMPUTATION, TO JUNE 30, 1903—PUBLISHED OCTOBER 9, 1903.

[The first computation, to June 30, 1902, printed in that year.]

The cost of war and warfare from 1898 to 1903, inclusive, has been over \$900,000,000. The cost of the war with Spain and of the warfare upon the people of the Philippine Islands to the end of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1903, had been over \$50,000,000, an addition in that fiscal year to the previous charge upon the taxpayers of this country of not less than \$150,000,000. This charge is increasing rather than diminishing. At the end of the present calendar year, December 31, 1903, we shall have expended in war and warfare not less than \$920,000,000, which sum will be slightly in excess of the outstanding bonded debt of the United States bearing interest. Of this sum about \$300,000,000 is commonly assigned to the cost of the war with Spain. There are no exact data outside the Government accounts by which this can be apportioned.

Over \$900,000,000 may be charged by taxpayers to the effort to deprive the people of the Philippine Islands of their liberty. The excess of the expenditures of this country, due to the warfare in the Philippine Islands, with the cost of the increase in the Regular Army and other expenditures engendered by militarism during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, varied but a fraction from \$2 per head of the population.

By dealing with the official figures for the year ending June 30, 1903, we may find the exact direction of the waste of taxpayers' money in one more year of oppression in the Philippines, of the refusal of liberty, and of futile efforts to redress wrongs previously committed.

The conduct of the work of imposing a form of government upon these people without their consent has been administered by able and upright men, who have used their utmost effort to overcome the evil inherent in the conditions. The pretext of developing commerce by holding dominion over these islands has ceased to impose upon intelligent people. All that we import from the Philippines we may continue to import, whoever holds them—the principal article, hemp, being free of duty. Our insignificant exports have fallen off with the withdrawal of a part of the troops and with the increasing disability on the part of the inhabitants to buy even articles of necessity, such being the poverty and distress which our rule has brought upon them. The proof of those statements is submitted in the subsequent form, all the figures being derived from the official reports of the Government.

For twenty years, from June 30, 1878, to June 30, 1898, covering the Administrations of Hayes, Arthur, Cleveland (first), Harrison, and Cleveland (second), the average annual expenditures on the different branches of the Government service per capita were as follows:

Civil service, including Indians and postal deficiency	\$1.48
War Department, including fortifications and other similar works.75
Navy Department, including the construction of what is known as the "New Navy"35
Interest on the public debt90
Pensions, including the very heavy increase during the term of President Harrison	1.52

Average..... 5.00

The expenditures in five years of war and warfare under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt were as follows (annual average):

Civil service	\$1.58
War Department	1.90
Navy Department80
Interest47
Pensions	1.86

Average..... 6.61

During the last fiscal year, ending June 30, the expenditures have been as follows (during a year of so-called "peace"):

Civil service.....	\$1.77
War Department.....	1.47
Navy Department.....	1.03
Interest.....	.96
Pensions.....	1.72

Average..... 6.35

An excess over the normal of twenty years of peace, order, and industry of \$1.35 per head.

But this does not show the whole case. During the twenty years prior to the Spanish war the cost of pensions and interest was \$2.52 per head. Had it not been for debts incurred and pensions to so-called "Spanish-war veterans," these charges, which had been reduced to \$2.08 per head, would not have exceeded \$1.88 in the last fiscal year, the falling in of pensions through lapse of time now moving on with accelerating speed.

These differences per head may seem to be of trifling importance, but when computed on the population of June 30, 1903, the customary factor by which expenditures are distributed by the Treasury Department—

The excess of expenditure in the civil service, at 29 cents per head, comes to.....	\$23,316,000
The excess of expenditure on the Army, at 72 cents per head.....	57,888,000
The excess of expenditure on the Navy, at 68 cents per head.....	54,672,000

The total of actual excess of expenditure during the warfare in the Philippine Islands and the tendency to militarism in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903..... 135,876,000

If to this be added 20 cents per head, by which the interest and pension charge would have been diminished, except for war and warfare..... 16,080,000

We find that the waste in war and warfare in the last fiscal year was a fraction less than..... 152,000,000

The present tendency is to increase rather than to diminish, and when the expenditures of the present six months ending December 31, 1903, are audited, the proof will be complete that the cost of the war with Spain, which a strong administration would have avoided, and the "criminal aggression" upon the people of the Philippine Islands, which a weak administration brought upon the country, will have cost the taxpayers \$920,000,000, a sum slightly larger than the entire bonded debt of the United States, bearing interest, now outstanding.

The pretext of expansion of commerce in the East in justification of closing the door to trade in the Philippine Islands to other nations, while strenuously urging the open door in China and other parts of Asia, has been exposed and now excites only derision. In the computation of the cost of war and warfare to June 30, 1902, it proved that we had been paying for five years \$1.05 per head of our population to secure an export which amounted to 6½ cents per head, on which there might have been a profit to some one at the rate of 1 cent per head of the whole population. The figures of the last year are even more grotesque. The cost of criminal aggression in the Philippine Islands during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, was not less than \$1.25 per head, after making any allowance that any reasonable man could make for the alleged necessity of increasing the Army of the United States and building battle ships to meet other contingencies. The exports from the United States to the Philippine Islands have fallen off to less than 5 cents per head of our population; had there been a profit equal to 1 cent on the 5 cents they would not have fallen off.

We are still wasting the lives and health of American soldiers and continuing to bring poverty and want upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the pretense of "benevolent assimilation."

The effort to suppress the evidence of torture, devastation, and ruin brought upon the people of these islands has failed; the facts of "criminal aggression" have been proved. In this statement the cost in money to the taxpayers of the United States is now submitted.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

BROOKLINE, MASS., October 2, 1903.

THIRD COMPUTATION, TO JUNE 30, 1904.

[Extended on Government estimates to June 30, 1905.]

The cost of war and warfare to June 30, 1904, computed from the expenditures for six months, from June 30 to December 31, 1903, and completed by estimate to the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1904, for seven years—not less than \$1,000,000,000.

Extended by estimates submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury to June 30, 1905.

In my first analysis of the cost of war and warfare, July 4, 1902, it was proved that the average expenditures per head of population for twenty years antecedent to the Spanish war had been \$5 per head, as follows:

President Hayes, 1878 to 1881, average.....	\$5.21
President Arthur, 1882 to 1885, average.....	4.73
President Cleveland, 1886 to 1889, average.....	4.43
President Harrison, 1890 to 1893, average.....	5.36
President Cleveland, 1894 to 1897, average.....	5.18

Average for twenty years of peace..... 5.00

In this period and included in this average is the cost of what was called "the new Navy," which destroyed the Spanish fleets.

In the subsequent five years of war and warfare under McKinley and Roosevelt it was proved that the average expenditures per capita had been \$6.61.

It was proved that the cost of war and warfare up to that date had been at the excess over \$700,000,000.

On October, 1903, I prepared a second statement, extending the figures by estimate to December 31, 1903, in which it was proved that the cost of war and warfare to that date would be over \$900,000,000.

The estimates used in that treatise have been more than justified by the official statements of the Secretary of the Treasury in his computations of the expenditures to June 30, 1904, by which it appears that the average, per head, of the present year will be \$6.29.

It also appears that the estimates presented by the Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, if not exceeded, will be \$6.76.

The actual difference between the normal rate previous to the Spanish war and the average of \$6.58 for seven years of active and passive war and warfare would be, per head, \$1.58.

But during the eight years of Harrison and Cleveland the cost of pensions and interest was, per head, \$2.50.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, pensions and interest were less, per head, than \$2. Reduction, 50 cents.

Both charges are now rapidly diminishing, and the normal cost of government, without war and warfare, in 1903 and 1904, estimated at \$6.29, would not have exceeded \$4.29 on a basis of peace, order, industry, and good government, economically administered.

The cost of passive war and warfare is now over \$2 per head now being assessed on nearly 82,000,000 people, or over \$160,000,000.

On the 30th of June, 1904, the cost of war and warfare, active and passive, will have been \$1,000,000,000, and even if the appropriations for the year 1905 are not exceeded at the end of that fiscal year it will have been nearly \$1,200,000,000.

We may take off \$100,000,000 for expenditures now being made of a useful purpose which were not made before the Spanish war, such as irrigation, national parks, the expansion of the Department of Agriculture, and the possibility that the consular service may be reorganized, with suitable compensation to competent men.

At the lowest and most conservative estimates it is therefore proved that we have already spent on the Spanish war, as

computed.....	\$300,000,000
On criminal aggression and passive warfare in the Philippine Islands.....	600,000,000

Total..... 900,000,000

And that before June 30, 1904, the total will stand at not less than \$1,000,000,000.

It is also proved that unless the spirit of aggressive militarism can be stopped—which now costs \$2 per head—it will be over \$2.50 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, with a constant tendency to increase as time goes on.

In order to fix the relative increase in these charges, we may compare the different departments under the Administration of President Harrison and those of the last fiscal year under President Roosevelt:

	Harrison.	Roosevelt.
Civil service and Indians..... per head.....	\$1.66	\$1.72
War..... do.....	.76	1.47
Navy..... do.....	.42	1.62
Interest..... do.....	.43	.35
Pensions..... do.....	2.04	1.73
Average.....	5.36	6.29

We may next compare the average in President Cleveland's first term with the expenditures of the present fiscal year ending June 30, 1904.

	Cleveland.	Roosevelt.
Civil service and Indiansper head..	\$1.43	\$1.73
War.....do.....	.66	1.40
Navy.....do.....	.24	1.17
Interest.....do.....	.80	.29
Pensions.....do.....	1.30	1.70
Average.....	4.43	6.29
At the interest and pension rates of 1904, deduct from the Cleveland figures.....	.21	
Average.....	4.22	
Difference wasted.....		2.07

The average expenditures of 1903 and 1904 have been \$6.29. The estimates for 1905 come to \$6.76.

Had these expenditures and estimates been free of the cost of continued aggression in the Philippine Islands, of the proposed defensive works in the harbors of the Pacific, and the waste upon battle ships and other killing instruments which form a necessary part of the policy of imperialism and oversea expansion, the entire cost of the civil, military, and naval establishments, interest, pensions, irrigation, forest reservations, and support to agricultural science could not exceed \$4.30 in the present fiscal year, and might even be less in the next.

At every point and by every method that these accounts can be analyzed and fairly stated it is proved that the cost of war and warfare has been, is, and will be over \$2 per head on a population now about 82,000,000 and rapidly increasing.

The taxpayers of the United States are now paying the penalty for the feeble Administration that brought us into this condition and the forcible, feeble Administration that as yet fails to get us out, at this rate of \$2 per head, or \$10 per family, or over \$160,000,000 per year, tending to increase.

If it is assumed that the liberation of Cuba from oppression could not have been brought about without the Spanish war, commonly computed at \$300,000,000, then the following estimates may be modified.

If the Spanish war is proved not to have been necessary, then it is proved that with this waste of six years of war and criminal aggression, \$1,000,000,000, the whole bonded debt of the United States might have been paid, with a large premium for the purchase of bonds not yet matured.

It may be estimated that had this money been spent for any useful purpose, many measures now contemplated might have been partially or wholly carried out.

Had we expended in the seven years \$200,000,000 on the improvement of rivers and harbors, how much more would remain to be done?

Had we expended \$200,000,000 on the irrigation of arid lands, how much would remain unproductive?

Had we made up to the Southern States for purposes of common education a sum a little more than equal to that which the Western States have derived from the public lands which Southern States surrendered to the nation, which sum is about \$65,000,000, by assigning aid to them of \$100,000,000, what would be their present condition in the abatement of illiteracy?

Had we appropriated only so much money as may be necessary to construct cruisers for the protection of commerce, such cruisers being necessary so long as predatory nations threaten it, might we not have saved \$100,000,000?

What could we have done with the other \$400,000,000, which we shall have worse than wasted before the end of the present year, except to have remitted useless and oppressive, obstructive taxes?

Or if the war with Spain is deemed one that could not have been avoided, of which the common estimate of cost is \$300,000,000, should we not still have had a surplus of \$100,000,000 to be applied to the reduction of taxation?

When the cost of our National Government is again reduced to the average of twenty years before the Spanish war—of \$5 per head, less at least \$1 per head, or to \$4, for falling in of pensions and interest, as it soon may be when the waste of militarism is stopped—what nation can compete with us in the productive pursuits of peace or in the expansion of our commerce with the world?

If such are the proved conditions, then what does it cost each State or Territory at \$2 per head on the population of the census year 1900, plus \$2 per head on the subsequent increase—the actual cost being more and increasing?

The following table will show, the computation being made in round thousands, disregarding fractions, at the average rate of \$2, it being remarked

that the richer States pay more, the poorer States less, because these indirect taxes fall wholly on consumers in proportion to their consumption.

Every family pays its proportion of this tax, which is imposed on beer, tobacco, spirits, fuel, timber, steel, iron, and other metals, clothing, leather, cord wood, sugar, salt, fish, potatoes, and every other article of necessity, comfort, or luxury that is now subjected to a tax or duty.

Indirect taxes are tolerated because those who pay them are not conscious of the burden. They are the resort of rulers who dare not expose their purposes.

The proportion by States and Territories on the census of 1900 is as follows: ^a

State or Territory.	Population.	Capital.
1. New York.....	7,300,000	\$14,000,000
2. Pennsylvania.....	6,300,000	12,000,000
3. Illinois.....	4,800,000	9,600,000
4. Ohio.....	4,200,000	8,400,000
5. Missouri.....	3,100,000	6,200,000
6. Texas.....	3,000,000	6,000,000
7. Massachusetts.....	2,800,000	5,600,000
8. Indiana.....	2,500,000	5,000,000
9. Michigan.....	2,400,000	4,800,000
10. Kentucky.....	2,200,000	4,400,000
11. Georgia.....	2,200,000	4,400,000
12. Iowa.....	2,200,000	4,400,000
13. Wisconsin.....	2,100,000	4,200,000
14. Tennessee.....	2,000,000	4,000,000
15. North Carolina.....	1,900,000	3,800,000
16. Virginia.....	1,900,000	3,800,000
17. New Jersey.....	1,900,000	3,800,000
18. Alabama.....	1,800,000	3,600,000
19. Minnesota.....	1,800,000	3,600,000
20. Mississippi.....	1,600,000	3,200,000
21. California.....	1,500,000	3,000,000
22. Kansas.....	1,500,000	3,000,000
23. South Carolina.....	1,400,000	2,800,000
24. Louisiana.....	1,400,000	2,800,000
25. Arkansas.....	1,300,000	2,600,000
26. Maryland.....	1,200,000	2,400,000
27. Nebraska.....	1,100,000	2,200,000
28. West Virginia.....	1,000,000	2,000,000
29. Connecticut.....	900,000	1,800,000
30. Maine.....	700,000	1,400,000
31. Washington.....	500,000	1,000,000
32. Florida.....	500,000	1,000,000
33. Colorado.....	500,000	1,000,000
34. New Hampshire.....	400,000	800,000
35. Oregon.....	400,000	800,000
36. Rhode Island.....	400,000	800,000
37. Oklahoma.....	400,000	800,000
38. Indian Territory.....	400,000	800,000
39. Vermont.....	350,000	700,000
40. North Dakota.....	300,000	600,000
41. Utah.....	300,000	600,000
42. Montana.....	250,000	500,000
43. Delaware.....	200,000	400,000
44. Idaho.....	150,000	300,000
45. Wyoming.....	100,000	200,000
46. Nevada.....	50,000	100,000
Total.....	75,200,000	150,400,000
Taxes free.....	1,100,000	2,200,000
In 1900.....	76,300,000	152,600,000
In 1904.....	82,000,000	164,000,000

^a Increase about 7 per cent on each State to bring the figures to the present population.

The increase in population from 1900 to 1904 would be 7 per cent average, or from 1 per cent in States from which emigrants pass to 50 per cent in Oklahoma, to which they come.

Now, if the tax gatherer went to the door of every house or to the dwelling place of every person demanding \$2 per head in cash or \$10 from each average family, how long would this waste of warfare and militarism last?

If this tax of \$2 per head, or over \$160,000,000 a-year, were assessed directly upon the States according to law, to be collected mainly by a direct tax on property or by a poll tax, how soon would it be abated? Before a single Congressional term had ended would not this waste be stopped, or every Member who refused to stop it be relegated to a position where he could abuse a public trust no more?

With these questions soon to be answered at the polls, I submit these computations to an anxious public, now constantly seeking for solution, and to sagacious politicians who are trying to save the nation from further dishonor and reckless waste on over-sea expansion and imperialism.

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

BOSTON, MASS., *January 23, 1904.*

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